1: Jenness--165 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 854

"Parents frequently massage their own children while nursing them, as our own parents do. They twist up their fingers and draw out their arms and legs so that they will grow strong and beautiful, stroke their bodies, and pinch their noses to make them straight. The ceremonial massage, however, is always performed by some other person. It is never a very gentle process, but far less severe than the ceremonial massage that young pups have to undergo."

6: Roberts and Jenness-20 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 854

'COPPER ESKIMO DANCE SONGS. According to the collector (1) the songs of the Copper Eskimo are confined to a few types, dance songs, weather incantations and magic songs, and children's refrains. There are no labour songs, apparently there are no love songs, while as for lullabies, 'the only songs I have heard mothers sing to rock their babies to sleep are the very same songs they sing while dancing. Babies are rocked to sleep on the back, not in the arms, and the mother walks up and down, or sways backward and forward as she sits, crooning her dance song, usually, I think, a pisik.'"

"1. Correspondence."

12: Collinson--251-252 (1851-53) 1889 Copper Eskimo
116, 854.

"One small thing, [T. M: a child] not yet capable of walking, poked out its naked hand every now and then from its mother's hood, where it was carried at the back of the head, the temperature being at the freezing-point of mercury, that is to say 71° below the freezing-point of water. How they could possibly endure it was quite surprising. I narrowly escaped being frost-bitten, by merely taking off my mitts to [252] give them a few beads."

291
294 *Coats.* Women's coats differed appreciably from men's in two respects only; the shoulders were greatly enlarged and the hood magnified into a kind of bag. Both the outer and inner coats were cut on the same general pattern as men's outer coats except for the hood, which in the outer garment was built up of five pieces (excluding insertions and the white fringe around the face); in the inner, where the fur required no matching and carried no insertions, it was made on a simpler pattern (Figure 26). When enlarging the backs of the garments

[854]

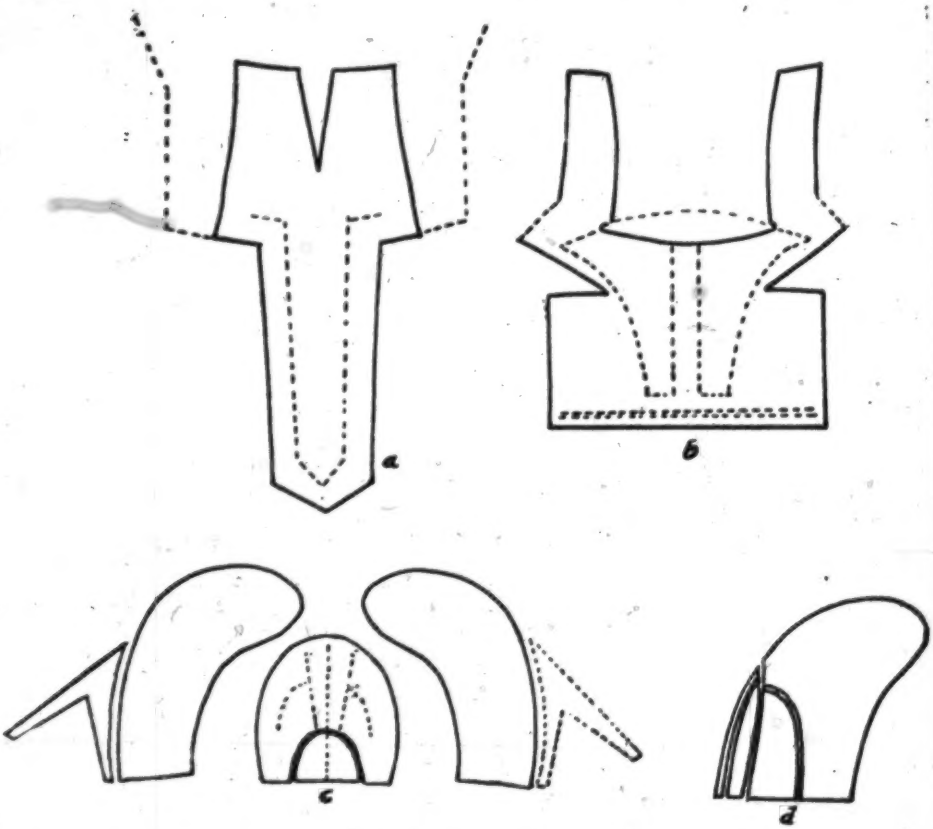

Figure 26. Patterns of women's coats; *a*: back; *b*: front and sides; *c*: hood of outer coat; *d*: hood of inner coat. Approx. 1/12.

to make room for a baby the V-shaped gusset between the shoulders was replaced by a fuller, more or less oblong one, and the neck-piece of the hood expanded to correspond; a cord tied around the hips, over the outer coat, kept the infant from slipping down.

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

CHILDREN'S CLOTHING

Within the snow-hut or tent a baby sprawled stark naked on bedskins, or wore only a caribou-fur diaper, covered at times with a second diaper of either caribou skin or sealskin that fastened around the waist with a cord. Without other protection than this the mother carried it on the trail under the fur coat. In very cold weather, however, she generally added warm mittens and socks of any available fur, caribou, marmot, or hare; often, too, a square of fur on the back fastened by two cords, one around the neck and the other around the waist. The baby's front, of course, needed no covering, as it rested directly against the mother's bare back.

As soon as the child was old enough to stand on its feet it received a proper suit of clothing, generally made at first in one piece (Figure 34). The front, as in European combinations, was slit down the middle and laced across; another slit passed between the legs. Each mitten was sewn half-way around the edge of the sleeve, leaving a gap through which the hand could protrude; and there was a hood that pulled up over the head. Sealskin shoes completed the costume, which was naturally doubled in cold weather and augmented by separate outer stockings. Occasionally, a cap was substituted for the usual hood, and a few suits had the slit, not in front, but at the back. Although the usual material was caribou fur, marmot fur was nearly as common in districts where marmots were plentiful, because it did not spoil so readily with dampness.

At the age of about 5 or 6 the child again changed its costume. It now wore a separate coat shaped like its parent's, but often lacking the long tail; combination trousers and stockings held up either by a belt or by a strap over one shoulder; outer stockings reaching to just below the knees; and sealskin shoes. Some of these combination trousers and stockings fitted very tightly, others were broad and flowing. The clothing of a girl at this time was indistinguishable from that of a boy, except that her coat often had the wide shoulders that characterized her mother's coat. Some girls retained this child's costume up to the time of their marriage,[1] but most boys and girls adopted full adult clothing as they approached adolescence. It was quite common for a child to wear an inner suit, all in one piece, beneath an outer suit in which the coat and trousers were separate.

There was seldom any decoration on the outer suit made all in one piece, and such as did occur seemed to consist merely of narrow white bands of caribou fur around the sleeves and possibly elsewhere. Boys' and girls' combination outer trousers and stockings occasionally showed similar white bands. From Coronation Gulf I obtained a girl's combination outer trousers and stockings that had borne two parallel stripes of white fur around each leg just above the ankle. When the fur became worn, however, and the costume shabby, it had been reversed to serve as inner combinations, and decorated down the front of the legs and around the ankles, on the now outer, hairless side, with narrow bands of black and white sealskin similar to those on women's outer stockings (Figure 35). No other inner combination suit, to my knowledge, bore any decoration; this one seemed as unique of its kind as the woman's inner stockings illustrated in Figure 33.

[1] For a photograph showing a marriageable girl in this costume *See* Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, Pl. VIII (p. 286 top right).

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

797 609 648 months after my visit and carried them south for trial. Both men were sentenced to death, but the penalty was later commuted to two years' imprisonment. They were ultimately restored to their homes, where one of them, profiting by his experience of civilization, rendered useful service to the new police posts that were established in Coronation Gulf.

609 The news that white men were wintering in their country not eighty miles away caused a great commo- 609 tion among the villagers. They anticipated a renewal 437 of their profitable trade with Captain Bernard four years before, and hastily prepared to migrate en 492 masse to Bernard Harbour. Before dawn a long file 489 of sleds, laden five and six feet high with the family possessions, streamed slowly over the snow in the direction of Locker Point. Wives and daughters pulled in front of the dogs, urging them on with frequent cries; fathers and sons hauled behind them, giving added encouragement with their walking-sticks. Here an old woman staggered feebly along, clutching the sled for support; there a dog running loose dragged an old man 851 *at the end of its trace. A nine-months-old baby slept* peacefully on top of a load, enveloped in a caribou skin to protect it from the wind. Far in the rear came Knife's big sled, loaded to its full capacity, and trailing a smaller sled laden almost as heavily. Wealth has its disadvantages in the Arctic also; Knife could hardly

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transport all his property even with two wives and six dogs.

The natives travelled sixteen miles before they unhitched their teams and built new snow-houses for the night. The men went sealing the next morning, for at this season of the year they rarely had food for more than three days, and could travel long distances only in stages. Elated with the number of seals they captured they moved on the following morning, although the temperature was —29° F., and a howling north-west gale lashed their faces with hard snow. Johansen and I put on masks to protect our cheeks and noses, but discarded them before noon when the thick layer of frost that formed on their inside began to cling to our chins. Many of the Eskimos had their cheeks frozen, still more their wrists, for their short travelling mittens left an uncovered space between the hands and the coat-sleeves. Yet in the height of the storm a woman crouched down in the lee of her sled, withdrew a tiny baby from under her jacket and leisurely changed its sole garment, a diaper of caribou fur. The baby suffered no harm, apparently; but children were not always so fortunate, and the infant mortality was terribly high.

We had no intention of letting this horde of more than a hundred natives break in upon the tranquillity of Bernard Harbour without due warning. Our dogs

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her voice. During brief lulls she complained to Ikpuck that the dogs were keeping his "son" awake. He merely rolled over in his bag and growled sleepily.

She sympathized with me the next day. "Grandfather was incorrigible last night, my adopted son. Did you hear him?" "Yes, Icehouse," I answered. "And I dreamed I heard your voice also. Were you talking?" The old lady laughed merrily. She dearly loved a joke, even at her own expense.

When the storm died away in the early morning Leaf left her shelter to seek some frozen caribou meat for breakfast. Far out on the lake she saw black specks in motion, and borrowed my binoculars to examine them. Her excited shout, "The Tormiat are coming, the Tormiat are coming," awakened the whole camp. We dressed in haste. Jennie, my little "sister," ran forward to meet them and assure them that we were friendly, while the rest of us lined up on the bank overlooking the lake to accord them a formal welcome.

The party drew nearer, and we distinguished two men and one woman, the latter carrying a small baby on her back. Cries of disappointment arose; instead of the thirty or forty visitors we had been expecting, here was only one family. True, a second family arrived a few hours later, but all the other Tormiat had gone far to the north-east, whither it was now impossible to follow them by sled. The wave of disappointment passed quickly, and every one was cheer-

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Hungry children gathered round our tent.

Photo by J. R. Cox.

She carried it everywhere on her back.

[P 128-E]

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437 [361] Eskimos from both sides of the strait, and from the Coppermine River area, flocked to the station to trade before the opening of the sealing season, until their new-born village on the edge of the ice contained [123] nearly a hundred and fifty inhabitants. They remained with us for three weeks, giving no trouble, although we excluded all but Ikpuck's family from the house until 124 nightfall. I tried, with Patsy's assistance, to delve into their religion and to record their ancient traditions; but privacy was impossible and fear of public dis- 123 approval sealed their lips. They spent their days in 437 trading with me, or in visiting each other's huts and 574 holding impromptu dances; then, after the white men 125 had put away their note-books and retired to read in their bunks, they gathered around my phonograph and 123 filled the house with song. Although the love of music is inborn, not taught, I had hoped that the sweetness of their voices would kindle an æsthetic glow in the cold, scientific breasts of my companions. But Cox leaped violently from his bed one midnight, and with neither sympathy nor ceremony expelled the belated choristers into the outer darkness.

533 All the chants they sang for me were either dance- [789] songs or incantations to create fine weather. I asked [535] them for lullabies; they responded with more dance- [854] songs. The mother who rocked her baby to sleep on her back, under the warm fur coat, crooned the same melodies that she shouted in the dance-house to the booming of the drum.

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
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000 Christianity with its emphasis on the value of the individual soul has failed to eradicate it entirely in 84 civilized countries. The Eskimos knew nothing of obstetrics or "child welfare," nothing of any branch of medicine; and the mother received little consideration, according to our standards, before and after her child was born. Instead of resting quietly at home, relieved of her heaviest duties and concentrating on the care of her babe, she performed all her usual tasks up to the moment of parturition, and resumed them 854 within a few hours of delivery. Until the child gained strength to walk alone she carried it everywhere on her back, from morning till night, except when a brief respite from work permitted her to lay it among the [231] bed-skins and personally watch over its safety; the ravenous dogs would make short shrift of an infant [484] left unguarded within the hut or tent. On long winter marches she sometimes wrapped it in warm caribou robes and lashed it on top of the sled; but in summer it rode on her back-pack, which was not lightened in 853 any way to compensate for the additional load. Then 847 there was its food. Cow's milk and cereals did not exist for these Eskimos, and no babe could survive on fish and flesh, the only foods the country yielded. When the child began to walk it might swallow a morsel or two of seal or caribou meat well masticated by the parents, but for three years and even longer